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Terms of Encomium in Cicero — A Semantic Study

BY WALTER H. JOHNS
University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada

It is obvious to any student of Latin that Cicero's writings are a great source for the political life of his times. It is less noted, however, that some of his words, particularly epithets of encomium used to describe the great men of Rome's history, reveal a changed set of political ideals that is not without interest and significance today. We realize that some of the words he uses are intended to be terms of the highest praise, but frequently these cannot be translated accurately and still possess such qualities for us. It is to some degree a conflict between the semantic content and the emotional content, and in accurately representing the one the translator is almost certain to miss the other. The reason is simply that the influences on the minds of our day have made the qualities ascribed to these men no longer qualities of encomium.

The problem may be stated in another way. One of the common reasons for semantic change is an alteration in the character of the referent. This is usually due to a change in function. E.g., an army sergeant has functions today differing from those in use when the word was first applied; hence the sergeant of today is a different man from what he was two centuries or more ago, and different terms are required properly to describe his virtues. So it is with the men whom Cicero admired, and the qualities for which he admired them.

There are, of course, some terms used which time has not been able to affect. We find, for instance, in the *Pro Marcello* these qualities mentioned in praise of Caesar: *mansuetudo, clementia, modus, sapientia, nobilitas, probitas, innocentia, iustitia, lenitas, aequitas, misericordia, liberalitas*. When we add to these the *virtutes imperatoriae* in *Pro Lege Manilia* XI, 29—*labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo*—ascribed to Pompey and possessed surely to as great a degree by Caesar, we seem to have completed the roster of all man's virtues.

But time has affected the force of those qualities or epithets of encomium used by Cicero to describe men of an older generation than his own as described, e.g., in *Pro Archia* VII, 15: *Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse sine doctrina et naturae ipsius habitu prope divino per se ipsos et moderatos et graves existisse fateor*. Here *moderatus* may be translated 'moderate, temperate, reasonable, calm,' etc., and *gravis* as 'weighty, important, noteworthy, eminent, grave, serious, impressive,' etc. With these adjectives may be connected the nouns *auctoritas, dignitas, honos, laus, gloria, fama*, etc., all so common as to require no definite citation. With these perhaps belongs *virtus*, that word

of many uses which Cicero employs in so many ways that we are reminded of the well-known words ascribed to him in Cassius Dio XXXVIII.19.1: ὥστε γὰρ τῶν φαρμάκων οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ διαφθοραὶ πολλαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις ποικίλαι εἰσίν.

It is interesting to note that these qualities or attributes are to be found used in praise of public men in the writings of the last two centuries in England, and they seem to fit such men as Lincoln and Gladstone, but our own century seems to distrust such characteristics. Can any one imagine them being applied to candidates for public office today? We now demand vigour, alertness, force, and determination—qualities of a more dynamic age—and regard the 'grave' and 'moderate' man as having only negative virtues and hiding a great incompetence by means of a cloak of superficial impressiveness.

The implications here are far-reaching indeed. If such words as *gravis* are valid terms of praise when used by Cicero and by the writers and speakers of past centuries in England and America, some parallels must exist in the political, social, and perhaps economic nature, of the two ages. In politics we find tradition having more weight than ability in the last century of the republic. (Cicero himself, as a *novus homo* in high position, is of course the exception rather than the rule.) One glance at the English statesmen since Peel makes the parallel evident. There it was and is called "the old school tie." From this proceed the economic and social conditions which derived from, and supported, the political situation. With control of wealth in the hands of the few and that going hand in hand with political advancement we have another aspect of the same situation. This might be shown in specific detail and buttressed by a multitude of examples, but the main outline is obvious.

If it is increasingly the object of the New Education to train students in sociology, civics, etc., and at the same time to train them to think for themselves, we see how this object may well be gained by the study of Cicero. J. T. Clark, S. J., has shown us in his article in the February and March issues of *THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN* last year how the second of these objectives is to be obtained. May not the first be sought in Cicero as well? In studying and translating such terms as those dealt with above, the student can examine objectively a whole panorama of changing political, social, and economic ideals and the ways in which they were sought in practice. No wonder it is difficult to convince Latin scholars that a better vehicle for education exists than our own Cicero.

Non erit utendum verbis iis, quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur.—Sunt enim rebus novis nova ponenda nomina.—Cicero.

Thomas Nast and the Aesopic Fables of Avianus

By W. R. JONES
Ohio State University

In the years from 1864 to 1886, *Harper's Weekly* profited greatly, both financially and in political prestige, from the services of the celebrated and influential cartoonist Thomas Nast. For more than two hundred of his cartoons Nast made use of classical sources, particularly the Aesopic fables. The accompanying illustrations show six of Nast's cartoons derived nominally from Aesop; but the fact that the cartoonist was acquainted with these particular fables at all, and was able to use them so successfully for the entertainment of the readers of *Harper's*, is due, perhaps, more to their appearance among the fables of Avianus, than to any other reason.

Flavius Avianus, in the fourth century of our era, probably in the latter part of it, adapted, in elegiac distichs, forty-two fables from the Greek choliambis of his predecessor Valerius Babrius, who, it seems, made the first adaptation in verse of some of the Aesopic fables. Avianus' collection, for several reasons which it would be beside the point to mention here, but in general because it constituted a set of *fabulae faciles*, became in the Middle Ages one of the most popular texts and was everywhere used to a considerable extent, particularly for educational purposes. There are extant well over a hundred manuscripts, to the majority of which have become attached numerous moralizations in the form of promythia and epimythia; and in addition six independent commentaries, not to mention numerous marginalia in most of the manuscripts of the text; eleven adaptations in verse and seven in prose; and two early French translations, one Provençal-Italian, and one German.

In the first of the accompanying illustrations, a lion wants to attack four bulls, but is unable to do so as long as they are united in friendship.¹ Accordingly he sows the seeds of quarrel and disunion among them, and is thus able to devour them individually. This fable Nast has altered a little to suit his purpose, but the dominant idea remains the same. The greedy animal becomes *The Democratic Tiger*, attempting to 'devour every vestige of a free and honest election.' There are three bulls. Of the first, *Southern States Elections*, only the skull remains. For the second, *Northern States Elections*, a similar fate is imminent. On the top of the hill, but not out of reach, is *United States Federal Elections*. The cartoon was directed particularly against Tilden; for, although it was published in a non-election year, Nast was still carrying the torch for his champion Grant, who he hoped would in the following year be nominated and elected for a third term.

A frog pretends to be able to cure the ills of other animals.² But a fox near-by asks why a pale-faced sickly-looking creature should prescribe to others. Here the frog is a *Communist*, holding a flag, *The Symbol of Universal Human Love*.

Two men travelling together see a bear approaching.³ One climbs into a tree, the other lies down and feigns death. The bear paws over the latter, but finally, assuming that he is dead, leaves him unharmed. Afterwards

the man who had shinned up the tree asks the other what the bear said as she leaned down and whispered to him. He replies, "She told me never again to travel with a friend who will desert me in danger." The gentleman in the tree is John Bull, holding a bag of money marked 'English Loan.' The cap of the man on the ground bears the star and crescent of Turkey. Nast drew several cartoons concerned with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, in the diplomatic preliminaries to which England reputedly had backed down on a loan to Turkey, when the latter appeared to be in danger from Russia, 'the bear.'

In another fable⁴ Avianus presents a lion attempting unsuccessfully to lure a goat from its grazing plot on a high cliff — for an obvious purpose. In Nast's illustration the goat, *Labor*, stands on the rock of 'Hard Times — Vote for Tilden.' The other animal appears as a wolf, and his trap is the *Tammany Ring Regime*. For all through the presidential campaign of 1876, Nast supported Rutherford B. Hayes, denouncing robustly what he and like-minded Republicans regarded as the unsavory political ties of his opponent, Samuel J. Tilden.

A donkey, finding a lion's skin, puts it on over his own, and frightens the cattle in the fields.⁵ But a farmer, recognizing him by his long ears, brings him to justice. In Nast's representation, the donkey is the *New York Herald*, clad in a lion's skin of *Caesarism*, shown in the act of frightening all kinds of other animals. The elephant is the *Republican Vote*, this cartoon constituting its very first appearance as the symbol of the Republican party; Nast temporarily abandons his recently invented symbol for the *Democratic Party*, the donkey, substituting a fox; other animals represent the *New York Tribune*, the *New York World* and the *New York Times*. The attempt of the *Herald* to instill into other popular organs a fear of Caesarism, that is, a dictatorship of U. S. Grant in a presidential third term, annoyed Nast, always one of the general's staunchest admirers.

Avianus tells most effectively what is perhaps the best-known fable in all literature, the goose which laid the golden egg.⁶ Its owner foolishly kills it in order to get all its precious treasure at once. In this picturization, the butcher, *Labor*, has greedily attempted to extract great quantities of *Wages* from *Capital*. The introduction of *Communism* here, and the second illustration devoted entirely to that subject, reflect the anti-Communism scare of the day, to which topic Nast in 1878 devoted several cartoons.

¹ Avianus 18; Aesop (Halm) 394, 394b; *Harper's Weekly* 23 (1879)361.

² Avianus 6; Aesop (Halm) 78, 78b; *Harper's Weekly* 22 (1878)413.

³ Avianus 9; Aesop (Halm) 311; *Harper's Weekly* 22(1878)553.

⁴ Avianus 26; Aesop (Halm) 270; *Harper's Weekly* 20(1876)733.

⁵ Avianus 5; Aesop (Halm) 333, 333b, 336; *Harper's Weekly* 18(1874)912.

⁶ Avianus 33; Aesop (Halm) 343, 343b; *Harper's Weekly* 22 (1878)205.

Habes ergo opus, quo animum oblectes, ingenium exerceas, sollicitudines leves, totumque vivendi ordinem cautus agnoscas. Loqui vero arbores, feras cum hominibus gemere, verbis certare volucres, animalia ridere fecimus, ut pro singulorum necessitatibus vel ab ipsis inanibus sententia proferatur.—*Aviani Epistula ad Theodosium*.



1. The Bulldozer



2. The Quack Frog



3. Moral of the Russo-Turkish War



4. Governor Tilden's Democratic Wolf and the Goat



5. The Third-Term Panic



6. Always Killing the Goose That Lays the Golden Egg

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APPARUIT

Gratia Dei Salvatoris Nostri
Omnibus Hominibus

To All Our Readers

A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year

Editorial

Professor W. R. Jones's paper, "Thomas Nast and the Aesopic Fables of Avianus," read before the Ohio Classical Conference, Marion, Ohio, October 31, 1940, and condensed for the present issue of THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN, will, we trust, be a pleasant surprise to our readers. For the illustrations accompanying the text our warmest thanks are due to Professor W. A. Oldfather, of the University of Illinois, who has graciously lent us the slides.

Students of the classics throughout the country will be interested to learn that the University of Illinois is the proud possessor of an extensive collection of literature regarding the ancient fable in general, and Avianus and Aesop in particular. A number of studies, so we hear, are being prepared for publication in the near future by Professor Oldfather and several of his former students. Professor B. E. Perry, of the same University, already well known for his contributions to our knowledge of Aesop, is preparing new editions of both the *Life of Aesop* and the *Fables of Aesop*. The Illinois University collection of manuscript photographs for Avianus includes now more than 150 items, and one original MS.

The turn of recent events has made Professor Jones's paper a commentary on events of political and international consequence, and he is apprehensive that both the illustrations and his brief comment might be regarded as propaganda. The author's apprehensions, we can assure him, are groundless. Thomas Nast, of

course, felt strongly on any matters he drew cartoons about; but that is his own affair. For ourselves, we are glad to see that even a modern cartoonist can have recourse to ancient classical models. Incidentally, we again realize 'the fact that though the externals of human life have been changed, the inner man remains surprisingly and discouragingly the same.' The classics keep us in touch with the human spirit. Nor is it the great masters only that have voiced the universal interests of humanity; even the *di minores* can be drawn upon for occasional startling illustration. Timelessness (and, in that sense, modernity) is of the essence of what is best in classical antiquity.

¹ Sister Agnes de Sales Molyneux, whose paper, "Electioneering 2000 Years Ago," was given at the same meeting of the Ohio Classical Conference. See THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN for October and November 1941.

"Greece and Rome"

By RAYMOND V. SCHODER, S.J.
St. Louis University

Despite all impediments of scattered personnel, distraught attention, ill-slept nights, and perils of the Atlantic post, the editors of *Greece and Rome* still supply us, fortunately, with their varied fare of British studies in ancient culture. The May issue (1941) offers an attractively served *mélange* to entice and sustain the mind. There is a dainty portion of that staple of learned journals—Book Reviews—the customary special plate of Greek and Latin crossword puzzles, and a snack of the ever-tasty *Vides ut alta* of Horace, rather ingeniously warmed over into English by H. Rackham. Then a pair of minor scholarly viands, of the dry, ephemeral sort, too sparsely seasoned with import to delay one very long: "Woad," in which W. F. Witton discusses whether the blue paint which Caesar noted on his barbarian foes in the invasion of Britain may not have been intended as a sort of camouflage rather than a device to terrify the enemy; and E. S. Forster's account of "Dogs in Ancient Warfare" (occasioned by a report that the French army in 1939 tried to recruit 1,000 dogs for various forms of military employment). Adela M. Adam's contribution, "Philip *alias* Hitler," is a longer effort of a similar nature, whose paralleling of Philip of Macedon's career with that of Hitler is interesting.

The most enjoyable article on the fare is the vigorously written appeal of R. S. Stanier, "Latin or Greek?" This argues for more widespread recognition among classical teachers of the incomparable superiority of Greek over Latin in deep, rich, brilliant literary quality. The author points out that everything which Latin can offer on the side of discipline of mind and castigation of style, can be drawn from Greek also, while the cultural benefits are even deeper and more authentic in the Hellenic masterpieces than in the Roman. The contention is that Rome's greatest lesson lies more in her deeds and organization than in her writings, so that reading of Roman literature in the original is not nearly as indispensable as reading Greek, for 'as a subject for literary study . . . Greek has all the merits of Latin, which are considerable, and a great deal besides, that

Latin can never give.¹ This is all very true, but too little respect seems paid to the real, if in great part derivative and pedantic, merits of Latin authors. It is surely an injustice to Cicero not to set him up as at least some sort of rival to Demosthenes, in the author's clever pairing-off of Greek geniuses with each of the major Latin writers, to show a glorious remainder, when all the matching is done, of 'Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar, Plato, and Demosthenes.' Greek need not be exalted by humbling Latin—which is a very great literature, even if no peer of Greek; and who could ask any literature to compete with Greek? The argument is sound that if we can save only one language in our schools we must choose Greek. But the dilemma is faint-hearted and vicious; we must save both; which means turning modern education right-side up again. For Latin, too, has many benefits which Greek cannot give.

The *pièce de résistance* of the issue, however, is Angus Armstrong's analysis of "Aristotle's Theory of Poetry." Alas, it is not digestible, and quite definitely not Aristotle's theory of poetry. Philosophical confusions and indefensible interpretations spoil it too thoroughly. Mr. Armstrong cannot see that by *mimesis* Aristotle does not mean mere craftsmanship in copying a model, but artistic expression, in a material medium, of the poet's intellectual vision of the object, so that there lives in his work a vivid thing, like to its objective pattern, but through whose highly individualized lines (e.g., *this man*, Oedipus) there shines forth the fundamental picture of some universal aspect of human life (*the man who trusts too much in his own intellectual powers, in defiance of divine plans*). Indeed, Mr. Armstrong defines 'universal' by its contradictory, as 'unique, *sui generis*, a new creation of the poet . . . the only possible one of its kind.' Then he quotes the lines where Aristotle explains how the poet must idealize and universalize, not merely copy, his object, under the interpretation that Aristotle means he should produce a 'mere symbol,' a 'mere type,' like the characters in allegory!

Finally, as an after-dinner story, we are told the tale of a freedman of first-century Rome, who rose to power and destruction in the ruthless pagan manner, in "Antiochus the Last" by H. Mattingly. This periodical always merits to be read—but critically.

¹ Readers will recall the similar appeal of George McCracken in "A Modest Proposal to Abolish the Study of Latin," CLASSICAL BULLETIN, Feb. 1941, pp. 37-38.

Leo et Capella

Viderat excelsa pascentem rupe capellam,
Comminus esuriens cum leo ferret iter.
Et prior, 'Heus,' inquit, 'praeruptis ardua saxis
Linque, nec hirsutis pascua quare iugis;
Sed cytisi croceum per prata virentia florem,
Et glaucas salices et thyma grata pete.'
Illa gemens, 'Desiste, precor, fallaciter,' inquit,
'Securam placidis sollicitare dolis.
Vera licet moneas, maiora pericula celas;
Tu tamen his dictis non facis esse fidem.
Nam quamvis rectis constet sententia verbis,
Suspectam hanc ravidus consiliator habet.'

AVIANI FABULA XXVI.

Ecloga de Calvis of Hucbald

BY BRUNO MEINECKE
University of Michigan

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, but more pertinently, *O vos calvi*, with my sincere apology to the fair ladies of this audience, who under the circumstances cannot well meet the exacting qualifications for inclusion among the select.

At the very outset we may be tempted to speculate upon the aetiological factors whereby the *linea decalvana* chooses its prey with such marked discrimination and such zealous care among the male of the species, and yet in turn so conspicuously spurns the female. Can it be that this *bacterium* through the lapse of the ages has quite unwittingly adapted itself to its environment with a view to preserving the charm of magic tresses so as to prevent the extinction of the race?

Fair tresses man's imperial race ensnare,
And beauty draws us with a single hair.

Thus says Pope;¹ but Goethe² issues a word of warning:

Nimm dich in Acht vor ihren schönen Haaren,
Vor diesem Schmuck, mit dem sie einzig prangt.
Wenn sie damit den jungen Mann erlangt,
So lässt sie ihn sobald nicht wieder fahren.

Our own Martial, with less taste, but more abandon, expresses it bluntly:

Cur non basio te, Philaeni? calva es.

Venus Calva, whatever her function and appeal among the Roman ladies, among modern women would have few worshippers, though occasionally a straggler might appear. And so it is with deep regret and some concern for their welfare that we must exclude the 'eternal feminine' from active participation in the benefits of Hucbald's *himmlische Schar*, though in all fairness we shall cheerfully admit that even the bald monk of St. Amand must derive his inspiration for his prosaic theme by appealing to the clear-voiced songstresses of old, whom the poet invokes fourteen times in the following conspicuous verse:

Carmina, clarisonae, calvis cantate, Camenae.

Be this as it may, the inquiring classicist, who may have inadvertently overlooked our author, should know that Hucbald was a Benedictine monk, born near the monastery of St. Amand. He died there also in A.D. 930 at the age of ninety. Nature had endowed him with an unusual artistic talent, which was nurtured by his uncle Milo, the headmaster of the convent school, whom in due time he succeeded. With some slight interruptions, his professional career at St. Amand comprehended a period of nearly sixty years, and during this time he distinguished himself not only as a great teacher, but especially as a talented creator in music, for he originated a system of polyphonic notation known as *ars organandi*, which he based both upon the Pythagorean and Boethian theories, whereby fourths, fifths, and octaves only were recognized as consonants. Since these principles were associated with the ancient Greek tetrachord, the ancient designations of the various modes, such as Dorian, Lydian, Phrygian, etc., were naturally used, and became fixed in subsequent musical nomenclature. His great work, the *De Harmonica Institutione*,³ is well known as a most important contribution in the evolution of music. As a great classicist Hucbald was designated by such expressions as *vir litteratus*,⁴ *philosophus*,⁵ *peritia liberalium artium ita insignis, ut philosophis conferretur*.⁶ His biographer states⁷ that he left eighteen books to his monastery, including Plato, Martian, Eutropius, Marius Victorinus, Seneca, Virgil, Priscian, and manuscripts of the Fathers. Accordingly, it is not difficult to understand how this monk of Flanders, richly endowed with artistic and literary gifts, might readily express himself in a variety of writings, both

prose and poetry, among which the *Ecloga de Calvis* ranks as the most unique work ever written.

This poem is a homoeopropheron containing one hundred and thirty-six verses, each word of which begins with the letter C, the key word being *calvus*, which occurs seventy-one times. It is generally assumed that Hucbald dedicated his work to Charles the Bald, but this view seems to be an invention of Barth,⁸ since no reference of this nature occurs in any manuscript. Neither is there any firm foundation for the opinion of Max Manitius⁹ that the eclogue was dedicated to Archbishop Hatto von Mainz. Indeed, we need not assume any dedicatory association with any specific individual, for Hucbald was himself bald, as is proven by a statement of Adhemar de Chabannais in his *Historia Francorum*, where he refers to him as *Ucbaldum Calvum*.¹⁰ Under provocation this distinction might provide an ample motive for self-defense, for any bald man must of necessity recognize the truth of the old German proverb: *Ein Kahler ist böß zu rupfen, aber Narren versuchen es doch*.

Indeed, the opening prelude of three lines offers direct proof of such an experience:

Carmina convitii cerritus, carpere calvos
Conatus, cecinit: celebrentur carmine calvi
Conspicuo clari; carmen cognoscite cuncti.

A knave hath sung songs of abuse, attempting to malign bald men: let famous bald men be heralded in illustrious song; learn ye, one and all, my song.

In arrangement, organization, and construction the poem is a model of artistic excellence. The prelude is followed by a prooemium of ten lines, in which the Camenae are invited to sing the praises of bald men. The introductory theme:

Carmina, clarisonae, calvis cantate, Camenae—

is cleverly employed to serve as a clarion call to arms, exhorting the Muses to dishevel and disarray the locks of the apes who with quavering jeers essay slander against the bald. In mortal combat, no quarter being granted, *Calvities*, so to speak, wages her defensive warfare against *Hirsuties*. Then follows an elaborate eulogy of bald men, methodically setting forth their greatness and supremacy in all fields of human endeavor, both in the church and out of the church. This material is presented in a most orderly fashion through thirteen distinct parts of ten lines each. The first line is always an invocation to the Camenae, expressed in the verse already cited.

A brief résumé of the content includes the following points: Baldness foretokens the name and fame of ecclesiastical greatness, and insures a heavenly crown. Cantors, abbots, bishops, priests are bald. Kings, emperors, consuls, legislators, judges are bald. Generals and the greatest warriors are bald. Physicians and surgeons are bald. God created the radiant dome of the bald man that all nature might be subject unto him. Let the fool, who yelps in canine style, "Did a gourd, sunk in the mud, engender the bald man?" straightway hold his peace. Bald men are conspicuous for their humility, charity, and chastity of mind and body, but, when aroused, may curse their barking calumniators, as did the prophet Elisha when he was mocked by children saying, *Conscende citus, conscendito,*

calve: they forthwith suffered a cruel penalty. The apostle Paul, who was called by Christ and translated into the third heaven, was a bald man also, an illustrious representative worthy to be cherished. Once again the poet summons the Camenae to curb those who trump up idle falsehoods against bald men, and urges immediate conviction and confinement in prison. At this point Hucbald reaches the climax of his mock tirade, and with a great display of simulated agitation and wrathful disdain he exclaims in effect: "Cease, blind dog, to revile the bald man! Squat, you cur! Squat, I say!" This triumphant command gives way to the final eulogy, which resolves itself into an epitome of extravagant praise; even the moon shall darken its shining light to make way for the glistening helmet of bald men:

Collucent calvi; calvorum cassida candet,
Conrutilans caeli ceu copia clara coruscat.

A fitting postlude of three lines, counterbalancing the prelude of three lines, completes the eclogue, and the last word is *calvis*. Thus the bald man has been vindicated.¹¹

Many a crown
Covers bald foreheads.¹²

Therefore it is manifest and indisputable that a bald man is a most extraordinary person, whose glabrous dome should be hidden neither under a bushel nor under a wig nor under any other kind of covering; for, says Publilius Syrus,¹³ *Etiam capillus unus habet umbram suam*. Martial¹⁴ again puts it this way:

When you covered your temples and the crown of your bald pate with a kid's skin, that man made a witty remark, O Phoebus, who to you said, 'Your head is well shod.'

Haedina tibi pelle contegenti
nudae tempora verticemque calvae
festive tibi, Phoebe, dixit ille
qui dixit caput esse calceatum.

We may now briefly investigate various fundamental aspects of the work in order to reach some pertinent conclusions as to its proper meaning and interpretation.

First of all, we maintain the opinion that Hucbald's *Ecloga de Calvis* is essentially a *Scherzgedicht* presented in a serio-comic vein. Both Winterfeld and Manitius seem to overlook the banter and ribald jesting which permeate the poem. Manitius¹⁵ dismisses the work rather perfunctorily as follows:—*Im Grunde genommen ist es eine gelehrte Spielerei*. It is an example of scholarly word-play, but that is only half of the story; the underlying purpose is to achieve a humorous and facetious effect. Since we lack the necessary time to read the entire poem — which after all would be the most effective way to emphasize this point — we shall enumerate our reasons as follows:

First, we may note the pronounced mock-Vergilian treatment beginning with the incongruous title, and continuing through the poem proper, in the form of many references to the Muses and to song, the constant recurrence of the refrain:

Carmina, clarisonae, calvis cantate, Camenae,
whereby Hucbald seems to imitate Vergil's Damon of the *Eclogues*¹⁶ with his refrain:

Incipe Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus,
and that of Alpheisiboeus:¹⁷

Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.

These Vergilian reminiscences are heightened by the meticulous care which the poet bestows upon his artistic technique, similar to the mock-heroic style so effectively employed by Horace, involving the metre, the various figures, and the traditional poetical jingles. This type of embellishment emphasizes the almost superhuman efforts of our poet to rise to the theme and to the occasion. It is, of course, true that the term *ecloga* is commonly employed in mediaeval Latin titles without any special reference to its original signification, but its use by Hucbald seems to be significant and designed. Bald men in an eclogue are like dolphins in the woods or like wild boars in the waves; they do not belong there. They are there either by artlessness or by design.

Second, banter, ridicule, and wanton jest are immediately introduced in the opening lines. Thus some crazy poet has been guilty of ridiculing bald men; other human apes have tried to mock them with tremulous laughter. Bald men in turn need a poetic defender, who under the inspiration of the Muses may herald their praises in harmonious, ennobling song. For this task our poet volunteers:

Comere condigno conabor carmine calvos,
Contra cirrosi crines confundere colli.

These two motifs, namely, the villainous jesting of detractors and the lofty aim of the poet to defend his fraternity of the glabrous pate by exaggerated eulogy and artistic display, are pitted against each other, the laudatory element finally resolving itself into an epitome of extravagant praise. Indeed, bald men are comely; their dome of baldness is, as it were, a heavenly hub; their shining pate glistens like a helmet, and is a miniature world of its own. We may remark in passing, that the proverbial fly in Aesop's fable, which kept buzzing about the bald man and stinging his pate, may have been attracted by some such quality.

Third, more specific instances of humor are periodically interspersed. Surely, no one could mistake the humorous implication in this passage:

Cerritus cur collatrat clamore canino
'Coudiderat calvum collapsa cucurbita caeno'?
Conticeat citius caenosa calumpnia cuius.

Again, the military feats of bald men are impressively portrayed in a mock battle scene by a feigned realism and the preponderance of spondees, thus:

Compugnant calvi cristati casside con,
Contorquent, crispant celeres cum caede catervas,
Comprehendunt cirros, contundunt calce comatos.

For obvious reasons Hucbald's hair-pulling tactics seem somewhat unsportsmanlike. The old German proverb has well expressed it: *Ein Kahlkopf ist schwer bei den Haaren zu fassen*, but we must admit that the mud-slinging methods of the opposition are open to criticism also.

Such tactics are several times seriously condemned by Hucbald, who in the characteristic spirit of mediaeval banter and ribaldry identifies his enemies also with the proper animal representative. The depreciators of bald men are but blind dogs, snarling and backbiting without effect. But the bald man is their master, whose triumph is inelegantly, but effectively, expressed in these lines:

Conquinisce, canis, conpingens crimina calvis!
Conquinisce, canis, collatrans carmine calvos!
Conquinisce, canis, cessans corrodere calvos!

This emotional outburst, punctuated with hissing sibilant and striking staccato sounds, suddenly terminates the contest.

Whoever pictures a mediaeval monk as a sanctimonious old mossback, quite incapable of fun and jesting, has overlooked the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry and of Etienne de Bourbon, the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, the writings of Sedulius Scotus, and a wealth of similar literature which abounds with humor and facetiae.

The artistry of the poem has already been referred to, but it may be instructive to cite some definite illustrations to support our theory. Literary ornaments, such as the leonine verse, are much in evidence:

Comprehendunt cirros, contundunt calce comatos,

Paronyms occur in combinations like, *captivos captat captos*.

Epanalepsis is employed:

Carmina calvorum cumulentur carmine calvi;

homoeoptoton:

Cordacem calvum cordatum crede cavendum;

homoeoteleuton:

Concilium clarum calvorum cogere coetum
Cum cernis, calvum caeli comprehendito cielum;
Calvitii culmen caeli cognosco centro;

anadiplosis and *epanadiplosis*:

Circuitum cosmi commendant cetera calvi.
Calvos consocia, candentes congere calvos.

Other familiar devices, such as *anaphora*, *chiasmus*, *assonance*, *asyndeton*, *hyperbaton*, *metaphor*, *metonymy*, etc., are all skilfully used.

Hucbald manifests a truly remarkable mastery of the dactylic hexameter when we consider that he was compelled to write without elision, and that the use of a restricted vocabulary naturally presented many difficulties. His rhythm conforms everywhere to strict Vergilian usage, based on quantity and not on the accentual verse of most mediaeval poetry. In spite of all restrictions, however, the metre at no time appears stilted, stiff, or artificial. Even the fifth foot is always a dactyl. It is, of course, to be expected that a writer endowed with such marked musical ability should have a natural feeling for rhythmic symmetry, but it is unusual to find a mediaeval poet who does not in some particular reveal the influence of accentual verse.

There are also interesting philological aspects of the poem that merit some consideration. Hucbald employs an aggregate of six hundred and ninety-five words that begin with the letter *C*. Of this number three hundred and ninety-five represent a variety of repetitions. This leaves a vocabulary of approximately three hundred different words with the initial *C*. When one compares with this the English vocabulary of the average high school graduate, Hucbald's accomplishment assumes phenomenal proportions. We must bear in mind, too, that this unusual vocabulary expresses the author's ideas intelligibly and logically, while at the same time it does full justice to all of the exigencies of metre and artistic technique. Truly, a remarkable display of training and talent, even if we view it merely as *Wortspielerei*!

We notice some new word-formations, like *cirrosus*, curly; *concinuosus*, used substantively for *concinuator*

to satisfy the requirements of the metre, and meaning 'tricky advocate.' Many rare words occur, such as *calvaster* for *calvus*, the ending *-aster* being especially common in the vernacular to indicate bodily defects; *cordax*, meaning 'prudent' or 'wise,' used synonymously with *cordatus*, and formed on the analogy of such words as *audax* and *verax*; *cardia*, a medical term, representing the Greek καρδία, signifying here the *os ventriculi*, the cardiac extremity of the stomach, and found only in this work; *celeuma*, command, from Greek κέλευσμα; *calibs*, steel, Greek χάλυψ, meaning 'the surgeon's knife.'

It is noteworthy that in matters of syntax there is little variation from the classical norm.

If we accept Winterfeld's recension, which alone at the present time has any claim to accuracy, we may note several phonological phenomena, such as the production of epenthetic *p* through nasalization, in words like *condempnat*, *calumpnia*, and *contempnere*; orthographic changes in aspiration as the dropping of *h* in *Cristi*, *catarrhos*, *cronica*, *cacezia*, and the adding of it in *cohercet*. The usual changes reflecting a different pronunciation are met with also, as *ciclum* for *cyclum*, *Cinthia* for *Cynthia*, since *y* representing Attic and Ionic *υ*, became the unrounded *i* in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. The medical term *cardia*, just cited, was formed by Hucbald in the usual manner, i.e., the Greek accented ending *-ία* was generally assimilated into the Latin unaccented *-ia*, as in *biblia*, *ecclesia*, *symphonia*, although in popular speech, due to Christian influence, accented *-ia* is also found in *philosophia*, and in some other words.

The poem involves, finally, several cultural implications, notably a chapter in the history of medicine, which reads as follows:

You will find that bald men bring relief to the brain:
You will find that bald men heal catarrhs of the head;
You will find that bald men heal throngs of the blind.
Chronic consumption with ulcer yields to the bald man;
Cardialgia gnawing at the heart is brought to nought, colic ceases.

The bald surgeon, wielding the knife, incises the flesh, and
curbs the tainted blood of the head at the neck when
coction has taken place.

"Why sing more? All hidden ills in an ailing body
he checks, and prostrate bodies he restores."

This passage clearly supports the view that Mediaeval Medicine, both in theory and practice, is substantially Greek and Roman Medicine as we find it in Hippocrates, the Alexandrian School, Celsus, and Galen. The medical theory here implied is the Hippocratic hypothesis of humors, which were regarded as passing through a natural process—being at first crude, then ripened through coction (*concoctio*), and lastly, during the crisis, the offending humor is expelled through the several emunctories. All diseased matter passes through these periods of development, either per se, i.e., through the *vis medicatrix naturae*, or through the assistance of the physician, if necessary. Catarrh plays an important part in the pathology of Hippocrates, and according to his theory, results from an excessive secretion of phlegm in the brain; this phlegm is then carried to some given point in the body, to the eyes, the ears, the lungs, and even to the heart. That is the theory here implied; the bald physician brings relief to the brain where the

catarrh originates; he treats blindness, consumption with suppurating ulcers, cardialgia, and colic. The bald surgeon also aids recovery by using the knife upon a patient whose plethoric condition is caused by a predominance of one of the four humors in the head, namely, blood; he makes the incision at the neck when coction has taken place. Winterfeld,¹⁸ failing to understand the meaning of *cocta cervice* in this passage, suggests *Aderlass bei Sonnenstich*, but *cocta* has no such connotation in Latin medical nomenclature.

It may be illuminating to quote from Celsus to show how Hucbald's phrase, *Cronica cum cancro . . . cacezia*, has an exact parallel in Roman Medicine. In the course of his discussion on consumption he has this to say: "Besides the consumption it not infrequently happens that the surface of the skin is made rough by persistent pustulation or ulceration, or some parts of the body swell."¹⁹

Herewith we conclude our inquiry.²⁰ It has become increasingly evident that alopecia is a mark of distinction conferred only upon the elect, who may plume themselves on a brilliant pre-eminence. Neither the fate of Samson nor that of Absalom can overtake them; their crown is secure. Your speaker, in turn, doomed to obscurity, consoles himself with the thought that when his day is done, Jupiter, pitying his unfair fate, may send Mercury down from Olympus to pluck from his troubled brow such hairs as may still remain. This boon our baldheaded friends must forego.

¹ *Rape of the Lock* 2.27.

² *Faust* I. 201, ed. C. Thomas (D. C. Heath and Co.; 1892). Martial 2.33.

³ MPL 132.906f.

⁴ *Op.cit.* 827.

⁵ *Annales Elmonenses Maiores*, MGH SS V.12.

⁶ MPL 132.816.

⁷ Desilve, *De schola Elmonensi* 155.

⁸ Winterfeld, MGH PL IV.264 and 271.

⁹ *Geschichte der lat. Litteratur des Mittelalters* II.1.590.

¹⁰ MGH SS IV.119.29.

¹¹ This study is based on the recension of Winterfeld, MGH PL IV.1.267f.

¹² E. B. Browning, *Aurora Leigh* 1.754.

¹³ *Sententiae* E 13, rec. G. Meyer; Teubner, Leipzig, 1879.

¹⁴ 12.45.

¹⁵ *Op.cit.* (see note 9), p. 591.

¹⁶ 8.17f.

¹⁷ 8.64f.

¹⁸ *Op.cit.* (see note 11) 260.

¹⁹ *De Medicina* 3.22.2 (*Corp.Medic.Lat.*; rec. Marx; Teubner, Leipzig, 1915).

²⁰ This paper was read before the American Philological Association at Philadelphia in 1937.

The medical vocabulary is based to a large extent on the Greek, for two reasons: the Greeks, as the founders of scientific medicine, invented many terms which have persisted; and as new words have been added in later times, the extraordinary facility of the Greek language in forming compounds (a facility rivalled among languages only by the Arabic) has made it the natural vehicle for medical expression.—Walter A. Agard, in *Medical Greek and Latin at a Glance*.

Taste and Art

All men are in some degree impressed by the face of the world; some even to delight. This love of beauty is Taste. Others have the same love in such excess that, not content with admiring, they seek to embody it in new forms. The creation of beauty is Art.—Ralph Waldo Emerson, in *Nature*; Ch. III.

Mirantur omnes homines huius mundi speciem; nonnulli vel summo afficiuntur gaudio. Amare rerum formas intelligentis est. Sunt autem, qui tantopere isdem formis delectentur, ut eas non solum admirentur, sed novis imitari studeant. Imitari rerum formas artis est.

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